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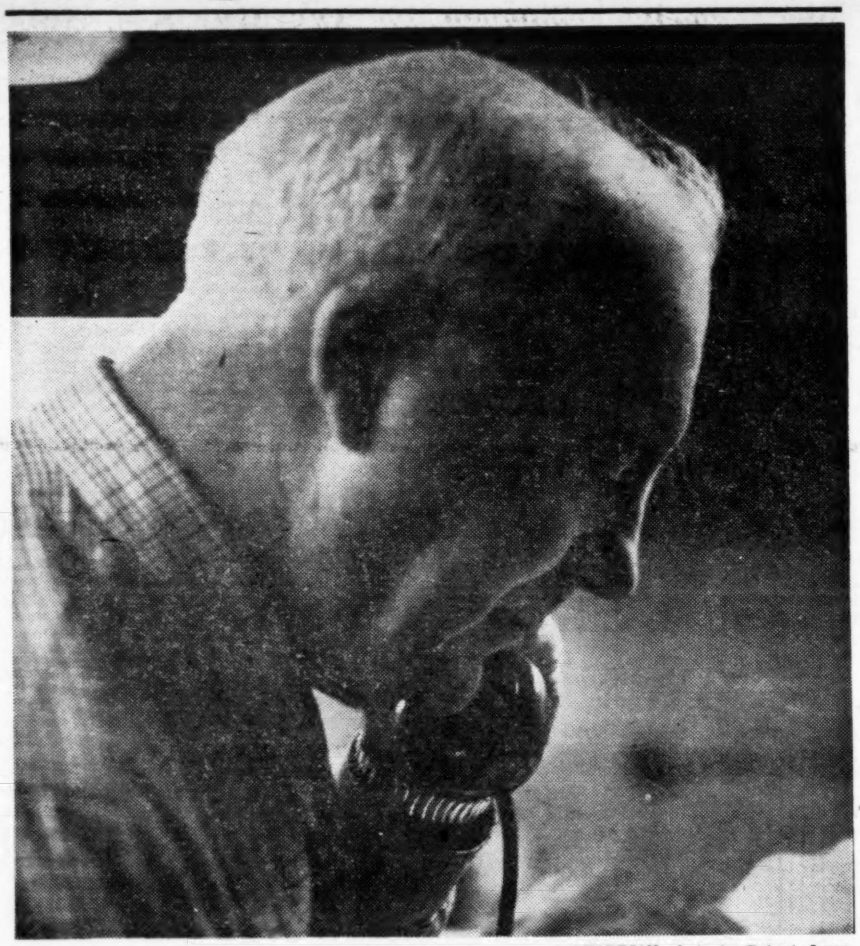

GUARDIAN photo by Robert Joyce
JOHN T. McMANUS, 1904-1961

GUARDIAN'S GENERAL MANAGER

John T. McManus is dead; memorial meeting set Dec. 12

A MEMORIAL MEETING for John T. McManus, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN'S General Manager, will be held Tuesday, Dec. 12, at 8 p.m., in the ballroom of the Hotel Commodore, 42nd St. and Lexington Ave., in New York. It is being organized by the GUARDIAN staff in tribute to their deceased colleague.

McManus died Nov. 22 of a heart attack at the site of a home he was building in Montrose, N.Y. He would have been 57 on Nov. 25.

About 750 persons attended funeral services in Montrose Nov. 25, most of them driving 100 miles and more to make it. They overflowed the chapel and anterooms. Brief tributes were presented by Al Warren, a neighbor; Dr. Corliss Lamont, friend and political associate; GUARDIAN editor James Aronson; and Dr. Morton Lindsay, superintendent of schools in Cortlandt, N.Y., who was McManus' high school classmate.

The tributes reflected McManus' many-sided and crowded life. Warren spoke of his deep concern for his neighbors' problems, which earned him the respect of those who otherwise disagreed with him. On learning of the death, a local businessman called Warren and said: "McManus didn't have a thing to show in material goods. But he knew what life was about. He knew where he was going and why. McManus was a man!"

LAMONT RECALLED McManus' deep convictions on civil rights and civil liberties. He reminded the audience of his dedication to democratic socialism and urged them to continue the fight. Aronson's remarks appear on page 3.

Lindsay said that he and McManus were the only two boys in the Buchanan High School graduating class of 1920—there were three girls—and McManus had been the valedictorian. They renewed their friendship when McManus moved back to Montrose five years ago and he discovered that McManus had not lost his respect for education. McManus, he said, was a leader in a local citizen's committee for better schools and in the PTA. McManus, he said, was dedicated to a life of service and education.

A New York Times obituary on Nov. 23 said of McManus: "Despite the controversial nature of his political opinions, Mr. McManus, a gregarious man, enjoyed the wide friendship of persons in all walks of life and of divergent political beliefs."

FOR MORE THAN a quarter-century McManus combined a distinguished career as a newspaperman with a full political life. In the last decade he became a major spokesman for U.S. progressives. Starting as an ardent New Dealer, he was involved in every battle against injustice and for a peaceful and progressive world. In recent years he described himself as an "independent socialist." He believed in socialism but could not accept the definitions of organized groups.

McManus described his political philosophy best in an editorial (Oct. 20, 1958) explaining why the GUARDIAN did not call itself a socialist paper. He wrote: "The GUARDIAN sees socialism coming our way, urges coexistence with it wherever it now exists, and believes this implies sympathetic understanding and study of its application for our own country's welfare . . .

"The socialism we are for, here in our own country, is the socialism still to be planned and proposed by and for the people of the United tSates. We approve in principle and defend the existence of the socialist societies of the rest of the world. We cannot and do not approve every act of these societies but we believe, with Dr. Du Bois and Anna Louise Strong, that they are wielding the instrument of socialism well for the good of humanity . . .

"But to label ourselves socialist implies listing the ingredients on the label, and the formula for America is still to be compounded."

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AN ANALYSIS BY CARLETON BEALS

Ecuador may be heading for dictatorship or civil war

By Carleton Beals

DURING MY FLIGHT last April over Andes and jungle, from lofty medieval Quito to the low-lying modern Port of Guayaquil in Ecuador, news came that planes had bombarded Cuba's great new school center at Camp Libertad and other points on the island. This attack, prelude to the Bay of Pigs invasion, deeply shocked the people of Ecuador.

That evening thousands streamed into the plazas of Guayaquil and paraded the streets protesting against "Yankee aggression." They listened to professors, students, labor leaders and politicians, denouncing "Yankee imperialism" and "dollar diplomacy." When I crossed the street from my hotel to give a scheduled talk at the National Assn. of Journalists, the building was guarded by double lines of mounted troops. Similar demonstrations occurred in Quito and all over Latin America.

President Kennedy's assault on Cuba made it clear that the Inter-American Conference, scheduled every five years, to which Ecuador was to play host a few months later, would not take place, even though about 300 FBI agents had already descended on the country. Now, of course, no United States delegate could feel safe in Quito, or anywhere else.

THE BIG SQUEEZE: United States prestige, already lower in Latin America than it had ever been, now was laid out with wax flowers and candles. Even without April in Cuba, the U.S. would have had to face the general clamor over U.S. support of the Stroessners and Samozas, the demand that measures be taken to rectify the discrepancies between the prices of raw materials that every year sucked out many times over anything the U.S. had provided in aid or was likely to provide—not to mention the billion dollars a year siphoned away by profits on U.S. investments.

The failure to hold this conference meant that inevitably Ecuador would be shaken by revolution. Not only was it a blow to the national pride to call off the meeting, but it had represented the last forlorn hope in the poorest land in Latin America, daily sinking deeper into economic misery, that a brighter day, thanks to international cooperation, might be at hand.

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THOUSANDS BOYCOTT CLASSES AND PICKET ON CAMPUSES

Ban on speakers sets off N.Y. student fireworks

By Joanne Grant

STUDENTS AT NEW YORK CITY'S municipal colleges demonstrated by a series of strikes and other protests in the last few weeks that they have abandoned apathy in favor of action.

The action followed the banning on Oct. 10 of a speech at Queens College by Benjamin Davis, national secretary of the Communist Party, scheduled for the following day. The ban was ordered by Harold Stoke, president of the college. Davis had been invited by the Marxist Discussion Club.

The Administrative Council of the City of New York, made up of heads of the city's four colleges and three community colleges, upheld Stoke and extended the ban on controversial speakers to all the colleges. As to Davis, the council decided it was illegal to allow Communists to appear on the campuses in view of the recent Supreme Court decision upholding the McCarran Act requirement that Communists register.

THE 'CRITERIA': The council said approval of speakers should be based on these considerations: "(1) The university commitment to the independent search for truth. (2) The preservation of an atmosphere of free inquiry. (3) The preservation of the university's intellectual integrity. (4) The necessity of all parts of the university to obey the laws of the state and nation."

The ban reversed a decision of last April to allow Communist speakers. Until then persons prosecuted under the Smith Act had been banned at the city colleges under a 1957 ruling made after an academic freedom week controversy over an appearance by the then **Daily Worker** editor, John Gates.

Student protests arose out of the ban-

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THE MAIL BAG

The death of a man

Following are some of the telegrams and letters received at the GUARDIAN and by Jane McManus on the death of John T. McManus:

NEW YORK, N.Y.
Together with all men and women of good will we mourn the loss of John McManus, whose courage and integrity represented the best tradition of the people of the United States.
Dr. Mario Garcia Inchaustegui, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Cuba to the UN.

HARTFORD, CONN.
We have lost a courageous, trusted and able leader. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and I personally share your grief.
Louise Pettibone Smith

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.
We are deeply grieved to learn of the sad news. Your loss is shared by all of us who knew Jack McManus.
Albert J. Fitzgerald,
Julius Emspak,
James Matles,
United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America

LOUISVILLE, KY.
I saw Carl and Frank Wilkinson at the prison and they join me in sorrow at the loss of this great fighter and true friend and in condolences to all the GUARDIAN staff. All of us who work for a better world are indebted to Jack for the leadership he has given. It will be a lonelier and harder battle without him.
Anne Braden

NEW YORK, N.Y.
Jack has been to our National Assembly for Democratic Rights a tower of strength. As one of the assembly's first sponsors he contributed by his active organization, advice and collaboration a major share in making it the success it was. He was a friend, co-worker and comrade to us all.
Simon Schachter
Joseph Brandt

NEW YORK, N.Y.
Jack was the best. His integrity, his energy, his wit and his ability will be sadly missed. Each is a rare quality in itself, in combination they are almost unique in the truest sense of the word.
Henry Abrams

NEW YORK, N.Y.
He was a foremost spokesman and courageous leader of left and progressive causes. He was one of America's best journalists and helped make the NATIONAL GUARDIAN into a people's tribune in the political life of our city, state and nation. He fought against bigotry, hypocrisy and reaction. He was a stimulating and constructive person who had a dignity, a sense of humor, a warm personality and a deep devotion with application to the immediate needs and perspectives of the future. He was a fighting champion for civil liberties and civil rights who gave full measure at all times for peace, democracy and social progress.
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Gus Hall, Benj. J. Davis

NEW YORK, N.Y.
I share with you a deep sense of sorrow. His death is a loss to the socialist movement. He was a warm human being who knew how to work with all who want to fight in the interests of the working class.
Farrell Dobbs

ROSS, CALIF.
In the battle for emancipation of mankind he was a brave and devoted soldier whose place will not soon be filled.
Vivian & Vincent Hallinan

BROOKLYN, N.Y.
Our whole family was saddened to hear of John McManus' death. We know what a loss this is for the GUARDIAN, and it is a loss for all of us who knew him as a brave and consistent fighter.
Sylvia and Earl, Erika and Daria Price

NEW YORK, N.Y.
The National Council of Americans for Progressive Israel joins me in expressing our shock. We can only hope that you will be comforted by the knowledge that his memory and good works will always be part of the progressive heritage of this country.
Avraham Schenker, National Chairman

ATLANTA, GA.
Mort remembers having met John McManus in Schenectady in 1945 at a meeting for the purpose of organizing engineers at General Electric. Jack came as a representative of the Newspaper Guild and charmed a hostile audience with his presentation. Morty and I both have a sense of great personal loss as well as a loss for our country in the death of a man who represented the best traditions of America and a fervent will for truth.
Helen Sobell

PALISADES, N. J.
I feel deeply the loss that you and freedom of the press of this nation have suffered.
Harry F. Ward

NEW YORK, N.Y.
Against the bereaving fact of Jack's death we can pit the lasting triumphs of his life—a warm love of people, a sturdy exuberance in all the meaningful struggles of his time, and stride of confidence on the road to peace, freedom and democracy.
Arthur Schutzer

NEW YORK, N.Y.
John was beloved by us, too, and by many thousands of people from coast to coast and the world over. We are in deep grief. Loss of such a friend is immeasurable.
Jane & A. A. Heller

CROTON, N.Y.
We lost in Jack one who befriended all, gave practical help to all, was a major force for peace and progress. The GUARDIAN must surmount this terrible loss and accomplish still more in the future.
Victor Perlo

NEW YORK, N.Y.
He was a man admired and loved by all readers. Only recently the GUARDIAN set up a Memorial Fund for Louis E. Burnham. It would be fitting that a Memorial Fund be set up for John T. McManus, a proposal that I am certain all readers of the GUARDIAN will wholeheartedly second and approve. **H.K.**

FLUSHING, N.Y.
John T. McManus—no longer with us. What a shock on Thanksgiving Day!
I am not much given to prose, so I will leave that for the more capable; but do want to initiate a fund in his memory with the enclosed check.
J. B. Marcus

NEW YORK, N.Y.
The sudden passing of Jack McManus in the prime of his productive life, while he was engaged in battles on so many fronts in the interest of our people, is an irreparable loss to all of us.
James E. Jackson, Editor **The Worker**

NEW YORK, N.Y.
This is to express our sympathy and grief over the death of a real man.
Richard & Edda Garza

NEW YORK, N.Y.
We feel the loss keenly, but we are tremendously proud of all that he accomplished.
Marion & Alex Munsell

NEW YORK, N.Y.
Shocked and deeply grieved at the death of a wise and warm friend of long years. American socialism has lost a courageous battler and GUARDIAN readers a trenchant writer. My condolences to his family.
Alexander Trachtenberg

NEW YORK, N.Y.
There must be many who admired and perhaps like myself envied Jack McManus his rare capacity to maintain his friendship with people who did not accept his views, without any compromise to his principles. Someone ought to do an essay on his personality not only in tribute to him, but as an example of how to be a successful radical.
Edwin Berry Burgum

CHICAGO, ILL.
He left a heritage to progressive America that takes its place beside that of Eugene Debs and Lincoln Steffens. Those who had the honor to know him were truly privileged people. May the GUARDIAN be built as a monument to his memory as a fitting tribute to his life's work and for the sake of America.
Sam Kushner, Editor Midwest Edition, **The Worker**

NEW YORK, N.Y.
We are grieving with all those who knew him as a staunch fighter for human rights and liberty. His name will forever be a monument to integrity and honest journalism.
The Hungarian Word

NEW YORK, N.Y.
In the name of the editorial and office staff of the **German American,** our deepest sympathy.
Kurt Schneider, Editor

NEW YORK, N.Y.
The staff of **The Militant** was shocked and grieved. We admired and respected him as a courageous fighter for human rights and as a first-rate newspaperman. His death is a heavy loss for the GUARDIAN, its readers and for crusading journalism.
George Lavan
Managing Editor

(More letters on p. 3)

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ONE OF THE MOST MEMORABLE scenes in one of the most memorable of all movies, **The Informer,** shows a British officer pushing with a stick the reward money toward the man who had betrayed a fellow Irish rebel; the gesture was a classic illustration of the contempt for the informer, even by those who use him.

Last week, Nov. 27, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, by proclamation of Gov. Paul A. Dever, celebrated "Herbert A. Philbrick Day." Some 800 persons attended a dinner for him given by the Crosscup-Pishon Post of the American Legion. Philbrick, for nine years an undercover agent for the FBI in the Communist Party, was a star witness against the top 11 CP leaders in their trial under the Smith Act in 1949. His latest exploit: testimony that led to the indictment under a state sedition law of Prof. Dirk J. Struik of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, world famous mathematician and scholar and educator; and Harry E. Winner, a successful small businessman.

—From the National Guardian, Dec. 5, 1951

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

JAMES ARONSON
Editor

CEDRIC BELFRAGE
Editor-in-Exile

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JOHN T. McMANUS (1904-1961), General Manager, 1948-1961

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McManus story

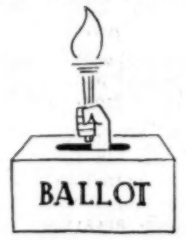
(Continued from Page 1)

McMANUS NEVER gave up the search for the formula. In 1957 he joined the pacifist A. J. Muste and others to form the American Forum for Socialist Education to bring together for "study and serious untrammeled political discussion" all concerned with "historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives." A year later he was a moving force in a Conference of American Socialists in Cleveland.

McManus was a devout disciple of independent political action of the Left. As American Labor Party candidate for Governor of New York in 1950, he received 225,000 votes. Four years later, in the ALP's waning days, he ran again and fell short of the 50,000 votes necessary to keep the party on the ballot.

In the Jan. 10, 1955, issue of the GUARDIAN he wrote a call for "a national independent political party on the ballot in the 1956 presidential election." He said: "It must be a party of peace, jobs and rights. It must be anti-imperialist, understanding of and friendly to world socialism and itself prepared to consider socialist solutions for our own country's welfare."

The hope for such a party remained his fondest dream. He felt that unnecessary feuds on the left were a major barrier. In an effort to bring together progressives and rival radical groups, he helped



organize the Independent-Socialist Party and ran for Governor on its ticket in 1958.

McMANUS' SOCIAL philosophy was developed through his years as a unionist. He joined the American Newspaper Guild in 1934, shortly after it was formed. He was president of the New York local from 1943 to 1947 and also served as an international vice president. As an executive board member of the State and City CIO Councils, he helped form political action groups to re-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944.

He was a vice chairman of the ALP and a founding member of the Progressive Party. He was a member of the PP national committee from 1949 to 1956.

McManus was born to a family of modest means; his father was a truant officer in the public schools, his mother a teacher. McManus attended elementary and high schools in New York City and Westchester. In the summer of 1920, when he was not yet 16, he became Montrose correspondent for a Peekskill daily, to be paid by the inches of copy used. "I never got paid," he later recalled, "because I never put in a bill. I liked the work too much."

A year later he took a fat book of press clippings to the New York **Times,** hoping to be put on as a reporter. He settled for copy boy. Later he was promoted to the paper's morgue. With extra money he earned as major-domo at the **Times'** headquarters at the Democratic national convention in 1924, and a partial scholarship, he enrolled at Marietta College in Ohio. During his four years at college he kept his hand in journalism as a reporter on the Marietta **Register.**

McMANUS returned to the **Times** in 1928 as a reporter. For eight years he covered police news and general assignment stories. For a time he was on the rewrite desk. He was also the paper's bridge expert. In 1936 he became assistant film critic.

A year later he went to **Time** magazine as film and radio critic. When Ralph Ingersoll left **Time** to form the newspaper **PM** in 1940, he invited McManus to become radio editor. A year later he became film critic and entertainment editor.

McManus earned a reputation as a socially conscious and witty movie reviewer. The McManus wit was recalled by **PM** sports editor Joe Cummiskey. Stumped for a fact the first day on the job, Cummiskey asked McManus if he had a **World Almanac.** "No," said McManus without looking up from his typewriter, "but what is it you want to know?" McManus shared a mutual respect and admiration with the late wit Fred Allen.

McManus was on leave from **PM,** serving as administrative assistant to Rep. Leo Isacson (ALP), when the paper folded in 1948. He was assured a position on the successor paper, the **Star,** but

(Continued on Page 3)

Jack McManus: A rock they could not crush

By James Aronson

THIS MUST BE PERSONAL because I go a long way back with Jack McManus—almost 20 years. I have to use the present tense, not only because it has been so soon, and so sudden, but because he will always be a part of me and what I do.

How do you talk about this many-sided man who lived life to the bursting point? He would never have accepted it about himself, but the longer I got to know him the more I came to feel that Jack was a great father—and his family was the world. Not in a global sense, with rolling phrases and high-minded sentiment; Jack had no time for that. For him there was too much to do. And if I sometimes despaired about Jack turning in late copy (he was a last-minute writer), he was always forgiven because he was always doing something for somebody—and because the story was sound and good.

1949: A HAPPIER THANKSGIVING

Jack McManus carved the bird at a party at the home of the late Vic Levitt, our first printer, as Jim Aronson (l.) and Cedric Belfrage looked on in the rear.

For him there was always a meeting to go to, to try in his own special way to knock some heads together and bring unity out of obstinacy. There was a visitor from Royal Oak, Mich., who felt his civil liberties were being violated because he had been prevented from distributing literature at an auto plant gate. There was a Greek dissenter faced with deportation and concentration camp; a Communist faced with jail here. There was an election campaign to worry about, and Berlin and China, and the Bomb.

In the midst of all this there was an old and loved newspaper pal, worn with drink and disaster, who needed a few bucks or a bed. There was the poor old lady in the Bronx who faced eviction and needed a flat. There were the Puerto Rican kids down the block on East 27th St., with the big eyes and the door key round their necks, who needed love—and got it. They all got it.

HOW DO YOU BEGIN to talk about a man like that? You begin in Montrose, a village almost 50 miles from New York, with Jane, his wife, and Enid and Sharon, his daughters, for whom he was building a house to replace the one that burned to the ground last winter, with every dear possession in it; and with his brothers and his sisters whom he loved, and his animals all around. Jack loved his home and his community. That's what I meant when I said you couldn't call him a global man, even though the world was his family.

As much as he loved the hurly-burly of politics and the trade union wars, most of all he loved his family and his friends around him; to prepare for them a feast on a Thanksgiving that would put Henry VIII to shame (Jack would do the carving too, if you please); and then to sit down at the organ or with a squeezebox and sing the songs with them until the warm farewells had to be said.

I think Jack was a great man, and his greatness lay in the fact that he never accepted such an estimate of himself. He had a deep humility that was belied by a stubborn exterior.

He had a way of playing the devil's advocate, sometimes to the point of exasperation, that brought the best out of people. But he got it out; and never was a question resolved until it had been examined inside out, top and bottom and roundside square.

I SAW HIM FIRST at a meeting of the Newspaper Guild of New York, when he was doing time on **Time**, as he put it, and I was a green young newspaperman on the New York **Post**, along about 1942. He was called on to unite a divided Guild, and he did, for many fruitful years. I knew him through those struggles and through to the time when Cedric Belfrage and I were laying plans for the NATIONAL GUARDIAN and Jack was in Washington as administrative assistant to Rep. Leo Isacson (ALP-N.Y.). We looked around to see whom we could find tough enough to take the bumps that would come in the top managerial role, a role which had to combine newspapering, public relations, fundraising and political action.

I wrote to Jack. That was in the summer of 1948, and the newspaper **PM**, from which he was on leave, had turned into the New York **Star**. He had a job there if he wanted it, but I asked him to come see us before he had made up his mind as to his future.

He came in, that hot August day, on Murray Street, down near City Hall. (How often I browsed with him through the job-lots shops in those crooked old streets and waited patiently while he bought a dozen brass doorknobs for God knows what.) He had that wonderful smile under that direct look, and he said: "What's cookin'?" I told him. He hung his leprechaun green hat on a rack and stayed. I blessed the day.

THERE HAVE BEEN, through these 13 years of the GUARDIAN, many times I might have despaired but did not, because Jack gave me courage; not only to me and to Cedric, but to all of us who worked with him. That is the word that sounds through all the telegrams and letters we have got in the brief—yet so long—days since he died.

Courage, and the other words too: wisdom and heart and austerity and wit—above all else that shining wit that made light of the gloom. Did anyone ever know Jack to enter a room that was not made brighter for his coming in?

Jack was a rock—a rock aaginst which you leaned for support and comfort; a rock which could not be crushed. It never was. It was dislodged and, in the effort, the heart stopped. But what the heart beat for will never stop, because it beat for everything decent and good.

I have learned much from Jack. I hope I have learned his courage. I hope all of us have, so that we can move the work forward. If we do we will achieve what Jack fought for, and for which he acquired the massive exhaustion which finally stopped him: the realization of universal man.

This, in the end, Jack was.

A Memorial Meeting

for John T. McManus

Tuesday, Dec. 12, at 8 p.m.

Hotel Commodore, Grand Ballroom
Lexington Av. at 42d St., New York

Presented in tribute to their beloved colleague by the staff of the
National Guardian

Admission $1.50

The McManus story

(Continued from Page 2)

the developing cold war made him reluctant to return to film criticism. When the **Star's** editors announced their intention to support Harry Truman for re-election, McManus was certain he did not want to return.

Coincidentally, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN was in its last stages of incubation and lacked a general manager. When Cedric Belfrage and James Aronson described the unborn weekly as solidly behind Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party and offered McManus the managerial job, he sent off his resignation to the **Star**.

FROM ITS INCEPTION, McManus was responsible for many of the GUARDIAN's editorials and for most of the weekly "Report to Readers," which ranged from appeals against injustice to "in the family" chats.

McManus was the GUARDIAN's link to progressive organizations and activities, but he was also a spearhead for such activities. He helped organize the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case and fought unceasingly to free Morton Sobell. He was adviser and aid to committees to fight Taft-Hartley convictions and for protection of the foreign born and to scores of civil liberties victims. A constant stream of persons seeking advice flowed into his office.

He took great heart from the revolution in Cuba and was its stanchest defender. Before Washington imposed a travel ban, McManus led two GUARDIAN tours to the island. Following his death, the Cuban press, radio and television were filled with expressions of sorrow over the loss of "a great friend of Cuba."

McManus is survived by his widow, Jane Bedell McManus; two adopted daughters, Enid and Sharon; two brothers, Edward J. Jr. and Robert; and three sisters, Mrs. Elizabeth Devir, Mrs. Margaret Birdsall and Mrs. Anne Radzivila. Mrs. McManus lives at Dutch St., Montrose, N.Y.

At the funeral service, Lamont read a sonnet by Santayana which seemed to sum up the sentiment of McManus' colleagues. It began: "With you a part of me hath passed away . . ." And it ended, "And I scarce know which part may greater be/ What I keep of you, or you rob from me."

THE MAIL BAG

The death of a man

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We shouldn't have to lose a guy like Jack. We'd known each other and worked together since the early CIO days almost 25 years ago. What first struck me about Jack and ever after endeared him to me was his absolute honesty—with himself as well as with others. He never wore a political label. But you could always be sure just where he stood and where you stood with him. His was the kind of integrity that few men have and that needed no label for identification.

He always fought clean and fair, never letting a political quarrel become a personal one or allowing it to obscure our agreement on the fundamentals. So, passionately as he might fight on a particular issue, he continued to work just as passionately for all the other things on which we were agreed. Besides, he was such a warm, lovable, many-faceted human being that it was always good to be with him—even for a hot argument.

John Abt

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

I am deeply grieved at the news. I shall always remember him as a man who was truly human and a dedicated fighter for socialism. To honor the leadership he has given I renew my support of the GUARDIAN and enclose a check for $100 to help in the continuation of its work in his spirit.

Fritz Pappenheim

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I had not known Jack McManus for very long, but one did not need to know him long to feel endeared. One did not need to know him long to learn very quickly what he stood for and what he represented. One did not need to know him long to feel that reaffirmation, that sense of solid support so needed in the process of one's awakening and understanding of political, and therefore human, realities.

You are more fortunate than I for having known him longer. But I am fortunate nevertheless for having known him even a little. I loved Jack and it is with infinite sadness that I make myself write these words to you now.

Let us carry on in his name. I congratulate you for the fine work that, with him, you have done so far. I know I shall continue to congratulate you for the fine work that with his ever-present spirit you will continue to do.

Melitta del Villar

S. NORWALK, CONN.

Anita and I wish to extend our deepest sympathy for your personal loss of John McManus —and we're still trying to gauge the cost to the world we live in.

Such a man.

Such a gap in the front line of the battle of our times.

Henry Willcox

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The enclosed check for $25 is in tribute to John McManus.

Grace Hutchins

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Here is $100 in memory of John McManus, whose untimely death is a great loss to all of us who are devoted to justice and truth.

Mildred M. Kaufman

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We were deeply shocked to learn of the untimely death, and find it hard to believe that this buoyant human being will no longer be among us. All of us who knew Jack down the years had the deepest admiration and respect for him. Those who met him for the first time quickly developed a great respect for him.

Sonya Sokolow, Director
Afton Tours

HAVANA, CUBA

Accept my profoundest condolences. I always recognized him as one of America's great champions of peace and democracy.

Joseph North

Ecuador politics

(Continued from Page 1)

In order to live up to the tradition of Latin hospitality, a grand new hotel had been built in Quito (the first modern one), a Parliament building (also the first), and a skyscraper glass and concrete office building. Streets were repaved and the airport was rebuilt to handle jet planes. At the same time President Velasco Ibarra had to announce that the government had had to stop work on a large housing project because the U.S. aid money promised for it had been held up until such time as Ecuador would break off relations with Cuba. He said Ecuador would live in hovels and starve before it would surrender its sovereign personality.

TWO REACTIONS: This announcement produced dual emotions: it spurred popular loyalty for Velasco, and emphasized the instability of his regime. Political controversy had been shelved by all parties until after the scheduled international conference. When I interviewed ex-President Carlos Ponce, handmaiden of the Church and the large landowners, he said: "I am not free to talk until after the conference, then we will have to get rid of Velasco and his demagogy."

He prayed that the conference would not be held, for he felt certain that, at this juncture, it would mean the destruction of the Organization of American States and civil war throughout the continent.

Leftist leaders also conceded that after the conference the issues would be joined and President Velasco would not last six months. The economic situation was frightful: the government was scarcely able to pay its employees; unemployment stalked the land and wages were never lower (in the best of times they averaged less than a $100 a year). Many independent banana growers in 1961 did not harvest their crops, because what they got for the fruit from the United Fruit Co. did not even cover their costs.

AN ODD ALLIANCE: Velasco had come into office on a curious alliance of the Conservative Party, the two wings of the Fascist National Defense Front ("the Ku Klux Klan," said to be supported by the Church, the large landholders and the U.S. Embassy), the Social Christians, the Socialist Vanguard and the Communists. No sooner was he seated in the executive chair than the horses began pulling in different directions.

He himself was moving fast to the right even before the scheduled Inter-American conference. He was, it was true, promoting an agrarian reform law, which he justified on the grounds that that was what Kennedy wanted, implying that it would bring U.S. aid despite his Cuban position. Actually the law was a kind of extortion—similar to laws in Peru, Chile and Colombia, already costing the U.S. taxpayers incredible sums, which were not reform at all, but impractical resettlement plans. The Ecuadorean law proposed to pay the large land-holders, of whom the church was by all odds the largest, fancy sums for worthless or jungle lands which the peasants would repay on long terms. Even so, the **latifundistas** distrusted the law, knowing well that the peasants would never be able to pay.

For a time also, Velasco had staved off a domestic crisis by creating the threat of war with Peru over the vast territory taken from Ecuador in 1942 by the decision of the U.S. and Argentina. He got crowds into the streets in wild and angry demonstrations, but these soon turned into anti-American and pro-Cuban demonstrations, so the archbishop declared that Ecuador had better forget about the lost territory.

TROUBLE COMPOUNDED: The second handle of deceit to avoid domestic crisis had been advocacy of a policy of non-intervention in Cuba. This Velasco could not abandon, even at the behest of the U.S. Embassy, for he would have been swept from office overnight. However, on demands from the Church, he dismissed his own campaign manager from the cabinet—Manuel Araujo Hidalgo, a demagogue, but with a huge following, who was barnstorming the country in favor of the Cuban revolution. In his place Velasco named Enrique Ponce Luque, the nation's arch clerical landholder.

It was a pitiful repetition of Velasco's disasters in three previous terms of office. But this time, in the desperate hope of getting U.S. aid, he had compounded his troubles by (1) trying to carry out an austerity program (which was rapidly driving the country to suicide) and (2) to impose, on Kennedy's demands, heavier taxation on the landed proprietors, while alienating popular support that, by a miracle, might have made such measures viable.

As early as last March, editor Pedro Jorge Vera wrote: "The internal contradictions of Velasquismo reflect the contradictions of Ecuador: on the one hand 10 or 20 families owning all the wealth; on the other, 4,000,000 Ecuadoreans submerged in servitude and ignorance—and to these must be added the 100,000 literate persons, not suffering great misery, but obliged to vegetate in the dark existence of personal frustration and impotence . . . .

"Velasco campaigned on the platform of fighting imperialism and the oligarchies . . . . Only in the international field has Velasquismo been faithful to its promises . . . . but otherwise it has delivered itself over to reactionary Conservatism . . . . The appointment of Ponce Luque is the last drop that fills the cup of popular disillusionment."

AN OLD STORY: But contradiction is not new. It has existed since before the birth of the republic in 1830. Ecuador still lives under the forms of the earlier Spanish conquest. Religion is still the major industry in the country. The concentration of land-holding is now even greater. The army, swollen now because of new U.S. support, automatically eats up 25 per cent of the country's revenues, a fantastic amount for a country as poor and in such economical descent as Ecuador. From 1920 on, the language of controversy and reproach towards the inequities of feudal rule are almost identical with those of 1961. Except that the issue has sharpened now.

The wealth of the privileged classes is greater than before. The expansion of U.S. holdings has been increasing rapidly. More and more the coastal area is being converted into a vast absentee plantation, with living conditions far worse than in the pre-revolutionary starvation days of rural Cuba. Petroleum, bananas, mining, transportation, public utilities—the whole apparatus of raw material extraction, which so distorts the possibility of any real national independent economy—form a system which undoubtedly benefits a favored few, even some workers, but inevitably drives the mass of the population, as has occurred in Venezuela, into deeper misery. The Ecuadorean standard cannot go much lower.

POPULAR MOVES: There is no middle class except for the small group that lives by crumbs from the tables of the magnificent feudalists. But, in contrast, today there is more popular organization, long schooled in the harshest adversity and cruelty; the labor movement is better organized; the peasant movement is growing everywhere and becoming more militant. Only on those submerged forces can Ecuador rely for a modern system, even for a bourgeois or a free-enterprise system. Certainly it can expect no help from U.S. policies, however much money is poured in, for such aid will all shrivel to nothingness in the sieve of feudal power. It can expect no help from the large American corporations, which fight the slightest attempt to improve living standards. It can expect no help from the Church or the landholders, who are not even willing to countenance a pseudo-agrarian reform such as Velasco has attempted, first in 1933, again in 1961.

"There is no agrarian problem in Ecuador," ex-President Ponce told me with a straight face. "An increase in wages is undoubtedly needed, but too much would spoil our people. And of course that cannot be accomplished without education, the acquiring of better skills."

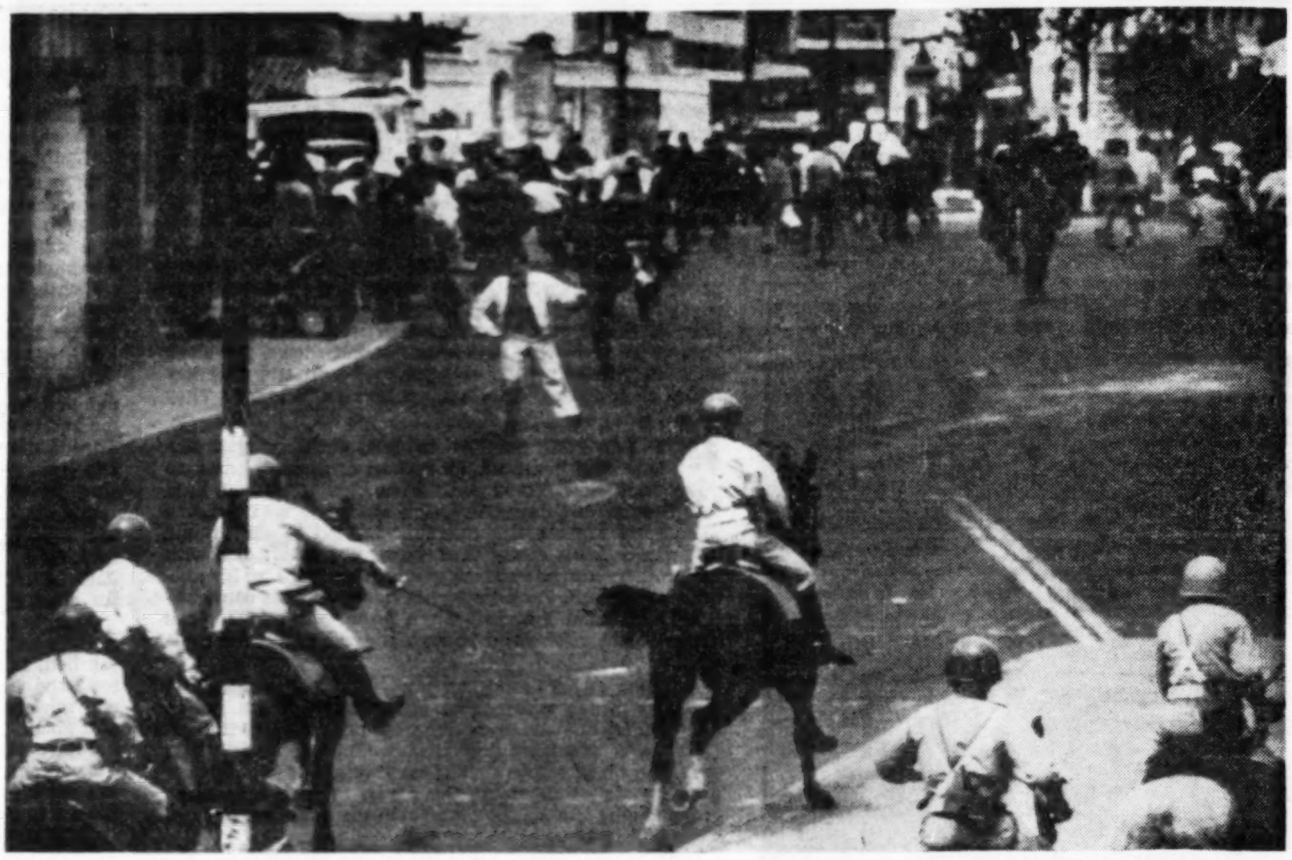
But there is no way to pay for such education and, even if it were acquired, the landowners could scarcely raise wages so long as agriculture is not diversified; for the prices of Ecuador's commercial crops are competitive and are set in far off places. Public housing becomes little better than a harsh joke for people who have no jobs or earn less than a $100 a year. Ecuador is a rich country, but access to its riches is closed to the people, and cannot be made available without a thoroughgoing agrarian revolution, crop diversification and the establishment of at least some consumer goods industries.

THE SCHEME: Velasco, like all Ecuadorean presidents, was unable to solve these conflicts, especially since with the rise of urban life, the contradictions, along with the slums, have become worse. But Velasco's term in office was appreciably shortened by the new demands of Kennedy's Alliance for Progress: austerity, tax reform and the breaking of relations with Cuba. None of these proposals could be carried out except by the harshest military dictatorship.

Thus Velasco was driven out. The scheme was for the Army to install a Supreme Court judge, Camillo Gallegos—touted by American correspondents as a middle-of-the-road moderate, actually a complete tool of the existing oligarchy—and side-track Vice President Carlos Arosemena, who had visited the Soviet Union, favored Castro's Cuba and had been generally taking a more popular stand than Velasco. The pattern was the same as in the downfall of President Janio Quadros in Brazil, but it failed in Ecuador also because the Army was divided.

But the installation of Arosemena, a genial bull of a man, solves nothing. Velasco was brought low by the same combination that had installed him in the first place: conservatism and clericals (smarting from tax reforms they would not pay) and the Left (smarting from betrayal). The new president is mounted on the same wild horses, doing the same strange circus act. Is there any

(Continued on Page 5)



ECUADOR POLITICS ARE VIOLENT: POLICE CHASE STUDENTS IN A DEMONSTRATION AT QUITO
The Ministry of Information building was stoned last month by an anti-Velasco crowd

He knows the continent

CARLETON BEALS, author of 34 books, has written much about the life and affairs of Latin America. His latest book, **Nomads and Empire Builders**, just off the press, is the story of the South American peoples before the Spanish conquest. He has just returned after a 15-week reporting and lecture trip to 14 countries of Latin America.

Beals knew personally most of the leaders of the long Mexican Revolution and was an instructor to the private staff of President Venustiano Carranza. He crossed the mountains and jungles of Central America to interview Augusto Cesar Sandino, when the Nicaraguan independence leader was fighting against the invasion of American Marines. He has been in Cuba for three prolonged periods since the Castro revolution. He knows the continent well from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn.

Anniston mistrial: Jury tampering and racism

Special to the Guardian

ANNISTON, ALA.

"DO YOU THINK you ever will be able to agree?" asked Federal Judge H. Hobart Grooms of jury foreman Cecil Morgan on Nov. 3.

"No sir," replied Morgan. "In that case," said the judge, "I will discharge the jury and declare a mistrial."

Thus concluded—at least until a new trial date is set—the case in which eight Anniston area men were charged by the U.S. with setting fire to a Freedom Riders' bus last May 14.

The Mother's Day episode of racial violence was the first encountered by the Freedom Riders on their trip through the South. Twelve of the bus passengers were treated for smoke inhalation and the $35,000 Greyhound bus was destroyed in the fire.

The mistrial was called after the jury reported no agreement following nine hours of deliberation. Jury foreman Morgan, a billing clerk from Birmingham, would say only: "It was close."

In a trial marked by threats, jury tampering, and racial overtones, defense attorneys led by Hugh Merrill, a State Representative, called no witnesses. The defendants did not testify. When U.S. District Attorney Macon Weaver concluded his case, the defense requested the court for a directed verdict of not guilty for all eight.

Declining, Judge Grooms conferred with Weaver, then directed a not-guilty verdict for Kenneth Adams, 41, local Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon who has figured prominently in several Alabama racial incidents, including the assault on singer Nat Cole in April, 1956. Grooms said the case against Adams lacked sufficient evidence.

The prosecution offered the testimony of 38 witnesses to establish that all eight men were at the scene of the bus-burning. Several witnesses had to have their memories "refreshed" when their testimony conflicted with reports they had previously made to the FBI during its investigation.

ONE SOLID FACT: THE BUS BURNED
Police took no names, made no arrests

One of the original 12 jurors selected was dismissed after he reported he had been visited at a local motel by three men wearing masks who "advised" him to be lenient with the defendants or it might go hard with his brother, a Bessemer, Ala., city recorder who is running for re-election.

Free-lance photographer Joe Postiglione was called back to the stand the morning of Nov. 2 after testifying at length the previous night. Prosecutor Weaver asked him if he had been threatened. The defense objected. The objection was sustained by Judge Grooms, but the witness was heard to say: "As a matter of fact, I was threatened twice this morning and was unable to go home last night." These remarks were stricken from the record.

A highway patrolman, M. A. Nunnelly of Anniston, one of the first officers to reach the scene, told the court: 'I didn't know anybody taking part. I didn't take any names and I didn't make any arrests." He testified that while standing near the bus he saw, out of the corner of his eye, a club being swung on one of the bus passengers. He intervened and caught a glancing blow to his shoulder, he said, but couldn't identify the club-wielder.

Two prospective jurors reported anonymous phone calls. Their names were stricken from the jury list by the defense.

Both Judge Grooms and Weaver told the jury to ignore the racial aspects of the case and consider only that the bus was interfered with in interstate commerce. But the defense attorney in his argument declared: "You know and I know that when a bunch of rabble rousers and racial agitators goes into the South and violates our laws, there is going to be trouble somewhere along the way. The only conspiracy was of some people in the East to come down here and cause trouble."

IMMIGRATION SERVICE QUERIES ALIEN

U.S. puts the heat on an editor

M. S. ARNONI is a 43-year-old journalist and political and economic theorist who for six years was incarcerated in German ghettoes and concentration camps under Hitler and was confined in 1948 on the island of Cyprus by the British for his role in the fight for Israel's independence.

At present he is editor and publisher of **The Minority of One**, a monthly magazine which describes itself on its masthead as "dedicated to the elimination of all thought restriction except the truth." Fiercely independent, and often critical of U.S. and Soviet politics in the Cold War, the magazine (P.O. Box 544, Passaic, N.J., $5 a year) contains articles on the peace movement, foreign policy, humanism, civil liberties, segregation— in short, the whole range of major problems besetting the nation and the world. It is in its third year of publication. Arnoni, a citizen of Israel, married and the father of two children, has lived in the U.S. since 1954.

A CALL TO NEWARK: On Sept. 18 the Newark (N.J.) **Star-Ledger** in a news story described **The Minority of One** as a "communist" publication (a description which it retracted on Oct. 31). On Oct. 26, as a result of the **Star-Ledger** story, Arnoni was asked to appear at the Newark office of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. He was met by investigator Thomas R. Winnerman, who told him he wanted to know about the publication's "editorial policies, as well as your personal views and convictions about politics, religion, philosophy and anything else."

When Arnoni asked about his authority, Winnerman said the Immigration Service had jurisdiction over all aliens and could therefore keep them under continuous scrutiny to determine whether they were desirable residents. When Arnoni insisted on legal representation he was told that was his privilege but he was "warned" that if he sought to defer the questioning to another session, it would not "make the best impression" on the Immigration Service. Arnoni ignored the warning.

A "GROSS VIOLATION": On Nov. 9 a second hearing was held, and this time Arnoni was accompanied by Melvin L. Wulf, assistant legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and attorney Esther Frankel of Paterson, N.J.

In a letter to Attorney General Robert Kennedy on Nov. 19, ACLU director Patrick Murphy Malin protested what he termed a gross violation of an alien's right to free expression and called on Kennedy to prevent any similar instances.

"We are especially distressed," the ACLU letter said, "at the Service's insensitivity to the principle of freedom of expression, in this case the publication of dissenting political views. This was both the exercise of the poorest political judgment and a flagrant violation of the Constitution. Under our democratic system each agency of government should abide by democratic standards, to give vitality and meaning to its precepts . . . It is beyond dispute that the investigation is due entirely to Mr. Arnoni's publication."

In a letter to the GUARDIAN on Nov. 21, Arnoni added this footnote: "It may also interest you that as soon as the item appeared in the **Star-Ledger**, my printer informed me that he could no longer print **The Minority of One**. He freely admitted that he acted under political pressure, which pressure he related to the **Star-Ledger's** story."

A new printer has been found.

Beals' story on Ecuador politics

(Continued from Page 4)

likelihood that he will succeed?

BOMB OR BUST: Premier Castro of Cuba has likened the success of Arosemena to a 70-megaton bomb against Washington. Arosemena insists on neutralism as a foreign policy, which is enough to damn him as a Communist, but Washington undoubtedly will find some reassurance in his potpourri cabinet, ranging from right Socialists to mild clericals. But this combination seems mere quicksand, for it is too late for any middle course to succeed—not in the Ecuador of this hour. There are two courses for Arosemena: (1) to shift to the Right more quickly than Velasco and back the shift with brutal military rule; (2) to institute revolutionary changes to free the Ecuadorean people and make possible a solution of the present economic catastrophe by really promoting productive enterprise by redistributing the wealth and opening up opportunities for all.

Otherwise, in this writer's view, his administration will be doomed. Unless Arosemena is a man of incredible ability, Ecuador is headed straight into civil war. This would mean a deepening of the starvation now suffered by the bulk of the inhabitants and, sooner or later, a thoroughgoing social revolution.

A quick dose of massive aid—not likely to be handed out by Washington—may postpone but cannot prevent the eventual establishment of a democratic Ecuador. For the Alliance for Progress is merely a patch on the worn-out tire of feudalism, a sort of costly super-Catholic charity project which offers no real hope of human freedom or augmented productive capacity or independent reorganization of national economies. It offers nothing to keep pace with the incredible population growth or to insure a better standard of living. It is a program based on ignorance of Latin American realities. It will not curb communism but will spur its growth.

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THE STORY: LOW WAGES AND HUGE PROFITS

Japan's unions battle the great monopolies

By Russ Nixon

THE JAPANESE TAXI DRIVER taking me from Tokyo airport answered, "I have four and a half," when I asked where he, his wife and two children lived. My response was that having four and a half rooms isn't too bad even by American standards. But the driver explained he didn't mean four and a half **rooms,** he meant "four and a half **mats.**"

For the Japanese worker measures his housing by the "tatami," the 6 by 3 foot reed mats which cover the floor of the single room in which he and his family live.

I was being introduced to the extremely low living conditions of the typical

K. OTA
President of SOHYO

Japanese worker. These conditions exist in spite of the fact that the modern industrial Japanese nation is experiencing a long and strong economic boom. The average Japanese worker lives in a room that measures about 10 by 12 feet. He and his family sleep on the floor, have only a small, low table and small set of drawers as furniture, use a common "inside outhouse" in the hallway as a toilet, use the public bath since they have none of their own, and cook on a charcoal burner or a single gas burner. He works more than 50 hours a week and is paid about 12% of the American wage for similar work on a similar machine in a new, modern factory. The level of Japanese wage and living conditions is suggested by the fact that a major goal of the labor movement is a minimum wage law of 8,000 yen—$22.30—for a month's work of 175 hours.

STRONG UNIONS: Japanese wages have remained at startlingly low levels even though a strong organized labor movement has developed since the end of World War II. Out of 22 million workers, almost 8 million are organized. The main trade union body is SOHYO, the General Council of Trade Unions, with about 4 million members. Another 800,000 belong to ZENRO, the Japanese Trade Union Congress, a right-wing offshoot and rival of SOHYO. More than 3 million workers belong to independent, unaffiliated trade unions.

The Japanese labor movement has not been able to overcome two powerful factors depressing wage levels. The first is the division of workers in each enterprise into "regular" and "temporary" employees. The temporary or casual workers are not covered by the union contract, don't belong to the union, don't strike when the union does, and have no job security. Although they may do the same work as the regular worker, they are paid only 50% to 60% of union wages. More than a quarter of all manufacturing employees are "temporary."

For example in the electronics industry, which is the largest in Japan, there are 123,000 regular workers and 55,000 temporary workers. The largest single enterprise in Japan, the HITACHI electrical machinery corporation, has 40,000 regular and 27,000 temporary employees. The HITACHI temporary workers are paid 12 cents an hour for men and 8 cents an hour for women.

The second depressing factor is that almost half of all factory work is subcontracted to tiny non-union "hole-in-the-wall" shops. In thousands of these small sweatshops there are as few as five workers running a few machines, eating and sleeping in the "shop." Their employer himself is hard pressed by the big companies to which he sells, and the workers are paid bare subsistence wages far below union standards.

HUGE PROFITS: Part of the reason the trade unions have not been able to overcome these conditions lies in the great power of the monopolies which dominate the Japanese economy. A combination of the revived pre-World War II ZAIBATSU, the Japanese family monopolies, and the new postwar corporate giants augmented by Western (chiefly U.S.) capital has resulted in an even greater concentration of economic power than before 1945. The purported objective of the U.S. occupation to democratize the Japanese economy and eliminate the ZAIBATSU was never realized. With the advent of the cold war in 1947-48, the occupation abandoned this aim and encouraged large enterprises in order to rebuild the Japanese economy as an ally.

Now these monopolies are driving hard for profits to finance the vast capital expansion which has led Japan's economy to an annual growth rate of almost 9%, three times that of the U.S. For example, the profit return on investment in 1960 for the four biggest electronics enterprises were HITACHI, 32%; TOKYO SHIBAURA, 30; MATSUSHITA, 69; and Mitsubishi, 35. (**Japan Times,** Aug. 18, 1961). SONY, which is pushing transistor radios and TV sales in the U.S., made 110% on its investment last year. Such profits are realizable only because of very low wages, so the entire Japanese monopoly structure carries on an aggressive fight against labor's efforts to organize the unorganized and raise wages.

BAN ON STRIKES: The unions are also weakened by legal limitations. It was also in 1947-48 and again because of the cold war that the U.S. Occupation reversed its policy of encouraging unions. In 1947 the General Headquarters of the occupation prohibited the general strike planned by the National Trade Unions Joint Struggle Committee. In 1948 Gen. Douglas MacArthur ordered the Japanese government to prohibit strikes by government and public service workers. The Japanese labor movement is still in 1961 trying to restore the right to strike to these workers, who are especially important in Japan. The largest union in Japan is the

IN A JAPANESE FACTORY FOR TV TRANSISTORS
Russ Nixon, author of this article, is second from the right

Teachers Union, with nearly 600,000 members, and the railroad and communications workers unions are also very large, but all lack the right to strike. Of the 59 unions affiliated with SOHYO, 37 of them representing 60% of all SOHYO members are thus prohibited from striking.

The combination of all these economic, organizational, and legal factors has limited the collective bargaining effectiveness of the Japanese trade unions. The bitter split between SOHYO and ZENRO has prevented united action. ZENRO has red-baited SOHYO, has generally followed the economic and political line urged by the U.S. State Department and AFL-CIO international representatives. In some crucial strikes, notably in the 288-day strike of the Miike coal miners last year, ZENRO has helped Japanese employers by strike-breaking and playing a company union role.

TREND TO LEFT: Partly because of these difficulties, SOHYO has taken a militant and left political line. In its 17th convention in Tokyo during August, 1961, SOHYO declared that it "will (1) support the Japan Socialist Party, and (2) cooperate with the other working class parties, as each issue arises." The Socialist Party is strongly leftwing, hostile to the cold war, and friendly to the People's Republic of China. SOHYO and the Socialist Party were leaders of the massive 1960 demonstrations against President Eisenhower's projected visit and the further rearmament of Japan through revision of the U.S.-Japan Security Pact.

The 1961 SOHYO convention action represented a defeat for the Communist Party, which had sought equal status with the Socialist Party rather than a mere promise of "cooperation as each issue arises." The Communists were also set back by the SOHYO convention decision to give priority to formation of a Japanese "united anti-fascist labor front" aimed primarily at combating Japanese monopolies to improve wages and working conditions. The Communists had sought to emphasize the political struggle and the danger of war, with American imperialism as the main enemy.

While SOHYO's emphasis on traditional trade union aims and methods is in some degree a turn to the right, its left orientation is still sharp. The convention declaration said: "The trend to reactionary politics and the revival of imperialism in Japan are clearly revealed in the frantic efforts to revise the constitution and to arm the country with nuclear weapons. The Ikeda-Kennedy talks have given a powerful impetus to such policies. Workers and trade unionists must see that the Ikeda cabinet, which is determined to play an active role as a tool of American imperialism, stakes its life on the oppression and splitting of the workers' front." The main convention slogan was: "Let us unite our forces to achieve large-scale wage increases, a minimum wage system, shorter working hours, normal relations with China, peace and democracy." Another slogan called for "total abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty."

NO AFFILIATION: SOHYO estimates that 80% of its members vote Socialist, 10% vote for the right-wing split-off of the Socialist Party, the Democratic Socialists. SOHYO is not affiliated either with the Soviet-supported World Federation of Trade Unions or the AFL-CIO-backed International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Some of its member unions are in one or the other of these rival world trade union bodies. ZENRO is active in the ICFTU. However even ZENRO, which combats SOHYO from the right, takes the position that "Japan must not be involved in a cold war, but should remain neutral and independent of military blocs," and supports entry of People's China into the United Nations.

The U.S. Occupation of Japan ended April 28, 1952. Japanese trade unionism and democracy has been "on its own" less than ten years. Japan is still on its postwar "shake down cruise." In a state of flux and testing, Japan is deciding whether to follow the path of socialism, neutralism and democracy, or the path of a monopolistic corporate economy, rearmament, participation in the cold war, and rigid repression of democratic rights.

Vidal to speak at rally in N.Y. to abolish HUAC

IN AN ARTICLE in the December **Esquire** playwright Gore Vidal tells how the "wrath of the radical right" was directed at him for favorably reviewing Frank Donner's **The Un-Americans.** His conclusion: "There is evidence that the radical right is now trying to unite . . . to change our 'democracy' into their 'republic'. I suggest we help them fail."

Vidal will be among speakers at a rally to abolish HUAC Dec. 6 at 8 p.m. in Manhattan Center, New York, sponsored by the N.Y. Council and Youth to Abolish HUAC.

Other speakers will be: Ring Lardner Jr., who scored HUAC and the Hollywood Blacklist in an article in the **Saturday Evening Post,** Oct. 14; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth; Mrs. Jean Wilkinson, wife of abolition leader, Frank Wilkinson, now in jail; Ernest Mazey, and James Higgins Fowler Harper of Yale Law School will preside and Peter Seeger will sing. Tickets are available from the N. Y. Council at Room 442, 150 W. 34 St., PE 6-3228.

Ecuadorean politics

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NASSER'S 'SOCIALISM' DOES LITTLE FOR THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS

UAR breakup intensifies Egypt's troubles

By Tabitha Petran

LONDON

THE BREAKUP of the United Arab Republic heightens critical problems faced by President Nasser's regime, problems already serious enough before the loss of Syria. If one set of facts could sum them up, it might be this:

In 1950 Egypt's 19,700,000 people consumed, according to the National Bank of Egypt, 2.63 kilograms of cotton cloth or 21 square meters per capita. In 1960, 26,000,000 Egyptians consumed 1.9 kilograms, or 14 square meters per capita.

The decline in per capita consumption of cotton textiles means that over the last decade Egypt's internal market has not expanded. Cotton yarn and cloth production have increased substantially, yarn by almost 100%, cloth by 36%. So have exports, especially in recent years, and cotton cloth exports in 1960 represented 21% of production. But the purchasing power of the people has not risen and unsold stocks are piling up in factories. The Misr Organization textile factories, which account for 77% of Egypt's total cotton cloth production, sold last year only 122 million meters of the 233 million they produced, according to the newspaper **Al Ahram Al Iqtasadi**, Aug. 1, 1961.

BIG PROFITS: Prices of Egyptian-made cotton goods and other products are very high mainly because of the excessive profit margins the government has allowed producers, in line with its basic development policy of stimulating accumulation of capital needed for development. The policy is directed toward the export market.

Maximum profits on exports require low wages, high prices, and high taxes on consumers, so the purchasing power of the internal market remains feeble. But since the prices of Egyptian products are non-competitive, exports must be subsidized. This solution, however, is at best only temporary.

Colonial-type control over a foreign market such as Syria's, or such as Egypt hoped to gain through Arab Economic Union, offered another possible answer. The Nasser government geared its development program to external expansion, basing it on the premise that Egypt would be the industrial center of an Arab world which must otherwise remain agricultural.

Surplus products from new factories—especially textiles, Egypt's major industry—began to accumulate in 1959. The Syrian market, which the Union had opened to most Egyptian goods, eased the problem. But by 1960-61 the Syrian market was not enough and last June the projected Arab Economic Union, which Egypt had been pushing for years in the Arab League, was shelved.

CAPITAL NEEDS: Another crucial problem was then coming to a head. Big capitalists used their profits less for productive investment than for conspicuous consumption and get-rich-quick enterprises. The Government still had to find capital for its development program and since the program was over-ambitious, the sums needed were vast. Foreign aid from East and West helps on foreign exchange needs. But it has not been enough. The government therefore borrowed from the Central Bank—deficit financing with inflationary dangers.

The Five-Year Plan 1960-64 rests on inflationary financing of such dimensions as to threaten collapse of the whole program. Syria's new Prime Minister Kuzbari has confirmed something of the haphazard Egyptian "planning" in revealing that Syria's budget of 1,720 million lira, prepared by experts after four months' study, "was rejected by the rulers, who added 1,000 million lira to the budget without any study."

PREMIER NASSER IS EXULTANT AS CAIRO CROWD GREETS HIM

But his dictatorship needs some reforming

THE DECREES: Last July's so-called "socialist" decrees and today's "Third Revolution" proclaimed by Nasser must be evaluated against these economic problems and their political consequences. These points are relevant:

- The nationalization decrees give the government capital it badly needs—about £400 million passes to the public sector. This is not socialism but an extension of state capitalism.
- The decrees, especially the ceilings on stock ownership and income (roughly $28,000 and $17,000, respectively), mean the virtual eclipse of the old elite, the relatively few big capitalists who have not been absorbed into the new elite. Property sequestrations affected many of the most prominent families.
- The new elite, composed of officers and their associates, which has developed with the extension of state capitalism since Suez, is far less affected. If past experience is a guide, the ceilings will not be rigidly enforced for this elite. It may extend and enrich itself as it did earlier from the top posts it received in the government's expanding economic empire. Democratic controls which could prevent this are non-existent.
- Working people welcome the 42-hour week but are dismayed by the only-one-job-per-person decree, since many need two jobs to make ends meet. Worker representation on company boards will be through the trade unions, which are government appendages. Of the 25% share of company profits allotted workers and staff, 10% goes to "central social services," i.e., services usually considered the responsibility of government, with the President determining how it is to be spent. Another 5% for "social services and housing" will be spent by agreement between company and union. The 10% left for direct distribution is an uncertain sum and a poor substitute for the wage increases desperately needed by Egyptian workers.
- Reduction by half of payments owed by peasant beneficiaries of the land reform is a step in the right direction. With their families these beneficiaries number not much more than half a million people. Also a step forward is the reduction in the maximum limit of land ownership to 100 feddans (roughly, acres). Cultivation by cooperatives is sound in theory but land reform co-ops have until now served mainly as instruments for government control of the countryside.

THE LANDLESS: Nasser's "socialism" offers nothing to the 14 million landless peasants. A shift from traditional methods of exploitation—renting small plots to tenants—to direct exploitation by underpaid wage labor has taken place since the land reform. Wages of agricultural workers under 15, who usually outnumber adult male workers, have fallen since 1952; while wages of adult workers have risen less than 10%. The per capita annual income of these landless millions has been estimated as between £3 and £4 in 1958. This year, one of the worst cotton years in memory, suffering in the countryside was even greater than usual.

The tax reforms are long overdue, but do not go to the heart of the problem—the heavy reliance on indirect taxation and on government profiteering through the high prices set for the goods it controls or produces. Indirect taxation is borne by those least able to pay; nationalization may extend the system of government profiteering.

For the sake of his own place in history, President Nasser may now wish to raise living standards and promote development in the interests of the people. Even the best will in the world, however, cannot reform from the top the corrupt and inefficient system his dictatorship has nurtured. Liquidation of the dictatorship is the necessary pre-condition for Egypt's development. The political reorganizations announced Oct. 16 seem designed to consolidate it.

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DELEGATION URGES U.S. CLEMENCY

Thousands more join in plea for Wilkinson and Braden

THREE THOUSAND PERSONS have added their names to the list of those urging Presidential clemency for Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, now in their seventh month of one-year prison terms for refusing to answer House Committee on Un-American Activities questions.

Braden is field secretary and editor of the Southern Conference Educational Fund in Louisville, Ky. Wilkinson is field representative of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC.

Petitions signed by the 3,000 civic, religious and education leaders from 48 states were presented to U.S. Pardons Attorney Reed Cozart on Nov. 8 by a delegation headed by Clarence Pickett, director emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee.

Among the signers were almost 50 bishops and seminary presidents, 200 government and organizational leaders; 500 university professors and more than 100 writers, editors and publishers.

Signers included: Thurman Arnold, Elmer A. Benson, Septima Clark, Hubert Delany, Leslie W. Dunbar, Stanley M. Isaacs, Theron A. Johnson, Mark Lane, William H. Meyer, James O. Monroe, Sr., Ava Helen Pauling, Norman Thomas, Kay Boyle, John Ciardi, Erich Fromm, Alfred Kazin, Freda Kirchwey, Santha Rama Rau, Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein, Dr. Harold C. Taylor, E. Franklin Frazier, Norman Redlich, E. U. Condon, Linus Pauling, Harold C. Urey, Harry Bridges and A. Philip Randolph.

The clemency petition said: "We recognize the right and duty of Congress, acting through its committees, to insist upon answers from witnesses when it seeks information relevant to the proper exercise of its legislative powers, but we share the growing public indignation at the obvious abuses of authority in which the House Committee on Un-American Activities so often indulges and its use of the investigating power of Congress to punish or silence the committee's critics."

A delegation to the Justice Dept. also discussed the clemency appeal with a White House aide. In the group were: James Imbrie, retired banker, Lawrenceville, N.J., Dr. Howard Schomer, president, Chicago Theological Seminary; Dr. John Mackay, president emeritus, Princeton Theological Seminary; Rev. Edgar A. Love, bishop, Methodist church, Baltimore; A. Burns Chalmers, American Friends Service Committee, Washington, D.C.; Dr. Edwin B. Henderson, board member of Virginia State NAACP; Rev. Walter Russell Bowie, professor emeritus, Union Theological Seminary and Episcopal Theological Seminary of Virginia; Dr. C. Herbert Marshall, III, past president, National Medical Association; John O. Crane, foundation trustee, Woods Hole, Mass.; William M. Kunstler, special counsel for CORE; Mrs. Sylvia E. Crane, Woods Hole, Mass., and Byron Allen, Washington Area Committee for the Abolition of HUAC.

How the police 'protected' the Fair Play for Cuba pickets

Peaceful marchers protesting last April's U.S.-aided invasion of Cuba in Philadelphia were attacked by onlookers, then arrested. Four indicted for inciting to riot and assault on Oct. 6 will be tried early in 1962. The American Civil Liberties Union protested the arrests. Funds are needed for the defense, and may be sent to: Philadelphia Picketers Defense Committee, P.O. Box 8721, Philadelphia, Pa.

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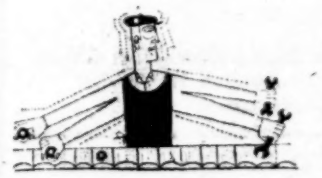
BOOKS

A powerful novel

IT IS not infrequent these days to find a jaded quietism among middle-aged progressives. Recalling the heroic working class struggles of the Thirties in which they were tempered, they look at the current American scene with jaundiced eyes. Yes, there is a powerful Negro struggle for equality; yes, there are some student demonstrations against the Un-American Committee, or for peace, but look at the unions, practically an adjunct of the corporations, no fight, no political perspective and so on.

It is the merit of Phillip Bonosky's new novel, **The Magic Fern,*** that it keeps its eyes on the ball, on the emergent struggles within the unions as they deal with the pressures of automation. Bonosky's novel is in the great tradition of social novels, with a broad canvas, sharp characterization, honest and yet passionately partisan. This reviewer found the scope and the passion exhilarating.

THE NOVEL is set in a steel town in Pennsylvania as the impact of automation hits the union movement and the steel company provokes a strike to cut down its labor force. The book is focused on Leo Jomaitis. He helped to organize the union local in the late Thirties when he was a young man, was fired after a tough fight on the picket line, left in disgust when he felt he had been abandoned by his fellow workers; and, as the story opens, is returning to his hometown. He seeks to come to terms with himself and his old associates for what he has come to feel was his desertion of them. Through Leo, Bonosky compares



the union movement of the present, beset by the Taft-Hartley Act, the Smith Act, and FBI interference, with the movement of the Thirties.

There is a whole galaxy of characters, giving the texture and richness of working class life. A brilliant portrait is that of Calvin Boone, an illiterate Negro from the South who has become powerful in the community, a Communist and labor leader. There are dozens of living characters developed in situations of impressive authenticity.

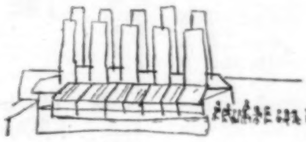
I don't believe there is any novelist in America who can compare with Bonosky in giving the feel and the flavor of workers on the job or in their homes. He has an authority that derives equally from his first-hand knowledge and his artistic craftsmanship.

THE MOST memorable part of the novel is the climactic strike sequence, when Leo stays inside the struck plant to argue with, win over and lead the scabs out. It is powerful writing, action-packed yet evocative, multi-faceted yet focused, so original as to surprise the reader in its development and its denouement.

The Magic Fern is not a perfect novel; it has a tendency to idealize workers. More important, I think, is that the strength of the novel, its focus on unionists in basic industry, is also the source of its political weakness. The novel is affirmative in the need to fight, but the prospect for victory is a hope and not the certainty which the facts warrant. While the novel shows how hard union men have to work, it does not show sufficiently the vast section of our society which is below the borderline of dire poverty.

Also, the workers in basic industry are a minority of organized workers and the organized workers are a minority of all workers, about 25%. Automation has hit the white collar workers, most of whom are not organized. The novel, with its primary focus on basic industrial workers, does not sufficiently show the potentialities in other sections of society. Even the Negro struggle is not portrayed in its full creativity.

FINALLY THE AUTHOR portrays Communists as hard-working unionists worthy of praise. Yet unwittingly he gives them less credit than they deserve by making them less political than in fact they are. The great discussions that have taken place among them in recent times are not reflected in the novel.



These criticisms would be irrelevant except for the fact that the novel does present a broad canvas of American society in the 1950s and while the picture cannot cover all aspects of that society, it does need a frame of reference, however sketchy, that represents the whole.

However, this in no way diminishes the importance of the novel, its fierce honesty and passion, its scope and massiveness, in short, its stature. It will revive your pride in the progressive struggle.

—Carl Marzani

**THE MAGIC FERN* by Phillip Bonosky. International Publishers, 381 Broadway, New York, 625 pp. $5.95.*

MARGOT HEINEMAN'S 'ADVENTURES'

The labor careerist

THE TITLE of Margot Heinemann's novel, **The Adventurers,*** is well chosen. All the people in the book are, in their different ways, adventurers.

But the principal character of the novel, Dan Owen, and also Lena Corris, the woman he marries, are adventurers in a special sense—the sense bourgeois society has made common, degrading the whole idea of adventure by turning it into an irresponsible, individual racket.

Dan, the talented son of a Welsh miner, begins, as most young people do, as the right kind of adventurer, his head full of fine ideas of emancipation, but finishes as the kind which capitalism encourages—the go-getter who has emancipated himself from his class and from all principles, save those that serve his career.

ANOTHER CASE of **Room at the Top?** Not altogether, for Owen, though he has some of Joe Lampton's qualities—including an easy and unscrupulous way with the girls—is less crude in his ambitions, more consciously divided in his loyalties.

It isn't a rich wife and a fast car he is after, but something subtler.

He wants an easy conscience as well as a cushy job and he never stops kidding himself that he is doing something—all he can reasonably be expected to do—for the working class.

His adventurism doesn't involve jumping the fence, but sitting on it.

I think what Margot Heinemann has to tell us in her novel about fence-sitting has badly needed saying, and has great relevance to the British Labor movement of the 1960s. The whole atmosphere of cynical and yet pretentious careerism is excellently caught and brilliantly anaylzed.

THE AUTHOR'S strikes and trade unionists ring true, as does the lilt of the happy Welsh voice. I am not so happy about her treatment of the role of the Communist Party.

The problem here—and it is a formidable one indeed—is to give a sense of the nature and vision and power of the party without falsifying its weaknesses and difficulties.

I am not complaining, of course, that the weaknesses of the Communist Party should be reflected in the book—this is inevitable in a serious political novel; but I do feel that the party's answer to its critics is not given quite the force that reality, and indeed the novel itself, demands.

I cannot imagine anyone seriously concerned about the present problems of the Labor movement (and who is not?) who will not find Margot Heinemann's novel deeply interesting. It is at the same time extremely readable and very thought-provoking.

—Arnold Kettle

**THE ADVENTURERS, by Margot Heinemann. Marzani & Munsell, 100 W. 23rd St., N.Y.C. 319 pp. $1.95.*

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• The Russians, whose "scientific backwardness" has been emphasized by our experts on Soviet life and attributed to their clinging to the naive and unscientific concepts of dialectical materialism, succeed in launching Sputnik I a long time before the Americans are able to put their first spaceship, of considerably lighter weight, into orbit. President Eisenhower faces the new trend in world history symbolized by this spectacular scientific achievement by establishing a new government post, Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology.

• Out of the Cuban Revolution a battle cry is born which embodies the spirit of the guerrillas who fought in the Sierra Maestra and is echoed by the masses of all Latin America: "Cuba, sí! Yankee, no!" President Kennedy tries to offest the revolutionary reality of these four words with a slogan of his own: At a reception for 250 diplomats from Latin America and Congressional leaders and their wives, assembled in the elegant atmosphere of the Red, Blue and Green Rooms at the White House, he discloses to his distinguished guests sitting before him on gilt chairs the ingenious new motto: "Progreso, sí! Tirania, no!"

EACH OF THESE EXAMPLES, to which an unlimited number of others could be added, reflects the lack of readiness on the part of our statesmen to come to grips with the real issues, and instead to resort to slick slogans and skillful manipulations. This trend is credited to the impact of Madison Avenue, whose public relation techniques now carry over from the advertising of cars, Sweetheart soap, Coca-Cola, etc., into the realm of politics. This explanation is right enough but not deep enough. It does not confront the question: How does it happen that political issues and decisions can be handled like commercial products to be put upon the market by a sales force?

THE ANSWER to this lies in Marx's concept of alienation, his view that in a society based on private property and commodity production the acquiring of profit becomes predominant to such a value that nothing else counts. Nothing is done for its own sake, nothing in life has a value in itself; every encounter with persons and ideas is dominated by the one consideration: "What is in it for me?" People who live in such a society become alienated from their work and from their fellow men. They also become deprived of any inner relationship to the forces which shape their lives, to the forces which work in nature and in history.

The attitude of the alienated man toward nature must await another discussion. But in confronting the trends of history, instead of accepting and really understanding them (the prerequisite for man's playing an active and meaningful role in history) the alienated individual tries to manipulate the forces of history and to subject them to his own designs and schemes. That this has been the prevailing attitude in our dealings with foreign nations can hardly be denied.

• When we announce a new victory in the United Nations because we have succeeded once again in securing a majority—slim as it may be—to vote with us against debate by the General Assembly on the admission of China, how much real understanding of the social and political forces at work in Asia does such a "victory" reflect?

• When we send food to people in underdeveloped countries, how much is our action inspired by concern for those who suffer from hunger and disease and how much by the calculation that our generosity might serve as a strategic move in the cold war?

• Latin American delegates at Punta del Este were quite willing to accept our aid, to the tune of $20 billion, but our expectation that the conference would pass a motion censoring Cuba remains unfulfilled. The Belgrade Conference, which we hoped would condemn the Soviet Union for the resumption of nuclear testing, seemed more interested in expressing its concern about mounting international tensions as such and against recent actions of colonial powers.

IS THIS GRATITUDE? This is the reaction of many of our statesmen and journalists when countries do not perform according to our expectation. It is the same question asked often these days by middle and upper-class parents who are confronted with the fact that their children have become juvenile delinquents. The question is naive and shows the parents' blindness to the real trouble: They bought the elegant sports car for Junior and gave him a large allowance because they wanted to show their social status and because they wished him to become a success within their pattern of living. Of course they considered themselves generous, but were they really aware of and concerned with the boy's needs and the forces playing a role in his life? They were as little attuned to these needs and forces as many of our statesmen are to the political forces of the countries whose problems they seize upon for manipulation.

Manipulation can have tragic results in the field of personal relations and in the area of international politics.

—Fritz Pappenheim

College speech ban

(Continued from Page 1)

ning of Davis, but followed banning of others: Malcolm X, leader of the Black Muslims, barred because, Stoke said, he had spoken last year and would have nothing new to say; N.Y. State Assemblyman Mark Lane, banned at Brooklyn College because he had been arrested as a Freedom Rider and therefore was under a "legal cloud"; William F. Buckley's right-wing magazine, **National Review,** barred from renting Hunter auditorium, because in the administration's view, its use might imply Hunter support for the magazine's views.

STUDENT STRIKE: The students' objections to the screening of speakers gained wide press attention when, on Nov. 9, 1,400 students at Hunter College's Bronx campus stayed out of classes. About 40% of the students boycotted classes and 200 picketed. At Hunter's Manhattan campus about 350 picketed.

On Nov. 7, about 50 students staged an all-night "read-in" at the library.

At City College about a third of the student body stayed out of classes on Nov. 9, while 200 picketed. On Nov. 2 at City 1,000 students had attended a protest rally to hear a taped address by Davis. The chairman of the college's political science department, Prof. Samuel Hendel, addressed the rally and called the ban "a gross violation of academic freedom unsupported by law." Assemblyman Lane, State Senator Manfred Ohrenstein and Dr. Seymour Weisman, executive secretary of the Alumni Assn., also denounced the ban.

Brooklyn College's student government passed a resolution condemning the "legal considerations which forced the City University to act as it did." Barnard College's student government called on the Administrative Council to rescind the ban and "reaffirm its belief in the absolute freedoms of speech and assembly on all city campuses."

Columbia University officials announced that Davis would be permitted to speak on campus because a university "should be a free market place for ideas." About 800 students heard Davis, Lane and Prof. John C. Thirlwall of the City College English department assail the ban.

QUEENS BOYCOTT: At Queens College the protest extended over a month, and was climaxed in a strike by almost 80% of the student body. On Nov. 16, 4,000 students out of 5,052 stayed out of classes and about 2,000 picketed. The Queens protest began the day after Davis was banned when 60 students attended a meeting on one and a half hour's notice and decided to call for informal discussions between student leaders and Stoke. Petitions with 1,000 signatures were presented to Stoke in the next few days. Stoke upheld the ban at a meeting of campus organization leaders, and the students staged a protest rally attended by 500.

As one student put it: "Before the decision had been reached, the students had attempted to prevent it by petition, assembly, education of the public, meetings with the administration, discussions of student leaders of all the colleges, student senate resolutions, request and receipt of American Civil Liberties Union support, and a strong protest rally. Following the decision, the students still tried to appeal to reason . . . When all else failed the student senate approved a strike by a 23-to-2 vote."

A resolution voted by the City College Student-Faculty Committee on Student Activities deplored the ban. The City College chapter of the American Assn. of University Professors urged the council to end the ban; and six constitutional law teachers at Hunter, Queens and City, issued a statement challenging the legality of the ban and questioning the competence of the legal advice on which it was based.

'BAN THE BAN': On all the campuses students wore buttons reading: "Ban the Ban," and college newspapers editorialized in favor of academic freedom and against the ban. The ban was supported by Young Americans for Freedom.

The controversy was covered by college press outside of New York. Editors of the Harvard **Crimson** contributed funds for an advertisement in the Queens College **Phoenix** protesting the ban.

At the request of the City College student government, the American Civil Liberties Union and its New York branch submitted to the council a brief signed by 28 lawyers disputing the legal basis for the ban. George E. Rundquist, N.Y. Civil Liberties Union executive director, called Stoke's action "a capitulation to community pressure unworthy of an institution of higher learning." Reporting the ban the **N.Y. Times** hinted at right-wing pressure, saying that Stoke "acted after a number of civic, religious, political and veterans' groups had protested Mr. Davis' appearance in letters and telegrams to Mayor Wagner, the Board of Higher Education and the college."

The ban was criticized by the **Times,** the N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** and the N.Y. **Post,** and the Americans for Democratic Action called on Gov. Rockefeller and Mayor Wagner to protest. The **National Review** is seeking a court injunction to force Hunter to rent its auditorium.

In response to the protests there has been some retreat. Malcolm X and Assemblyman Lane are scheduled to appear at a City College academic freedom meeting Dec. 7, and Brooklyn college officials said Lane could be re-invited to appear at the college. Stoke announced that the ban against American Communists would not apply to Russians. The Administrative Council said that it would receive and consider any legal arguments submitted on the question.

STUDENTS! Join our Campus Program! Write "CAMPUS" for information

Just not the type

PLANS TO PUT Cuban refugees to work in South Dade farm fields have been abandoned, a Florida State Employment Service official said Sunday. Bryan Page, FSES farm placement officer, said the Cubans are unsuited to farm labor. "We tried using 48 of them last year, and the longest anyone lasted was three days," said Page. "It's not that they don't try," he said. "It's just that they're middle and uppper-class people not conditioned to that kind of work."

—Miami **Herald,** Nov. 13

NEW YORK

RALLY to ABOLISH

The House Un-American Activities Committee

AND

- TO URGE Christmas Clemency for FRANK WILKINSON and CARL BRADEN
- TO PAY TRIBUTE to First Amendment Defendants who have fought for years in the courts against HUAC and similar committees.

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Yale Law School

JAMES HIGGINS
Ass't Editor, York, Pa., **Gazette and Daily**

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Academy Award-Winning Screenwriter

ERNEST MAZEY
Detroit trade union official

PETE SEEGER
Folk singer, 1st Amendment defendant

REV. F. SHUTTLESWORTH
Birmingham, Ala., integration leader

GORE VIDAL
Playwright, author "The Best Man"

MRS. JEAN WILKINSON
Wife of HUAC abolition leader Frank Wilkinson, now in jail

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Dec. 8-10: **COSSACKS OF THE KUBAN**

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Hear: Rev. William Howard Melish, others. Sat., Dec. 9—8 p.m., Manhattan Rm. of Continental Ballroom, 982 Broad St. Ausp: N.J. Citizens Comm. for Constitutional Liberties.

NEW YORK

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CAREY McWILLIAMS—Liberty in a Warfare State.
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German Democratic Republic—Puppet or Independent State? Hear Lincoln Brigade delegates recently returned from the GDR. Fri., Dec. 1, 7 p.m., Academy Hall, 853 B'way, cor. 14 St. $1 contribution. Auspices: GERMAN AMERICAN.

CUBA'S CONGRESS of WRITERS & ARTISTS: a report by Elizabeth Sutherland, an observer at the Congress, followed by a panel discussion with added participation of Irving Rosenthal and Howard Schulman, Monday, December 4, 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. Ausp: Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Speakers Bureau. Contribution 75c.

SCOTT NEARING, lecturer, socialist, author, speaks on WHAT IS FREEDOM? Fri., Dec. 1, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Cont. $1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

'A RALLY TO ABOLISH
The House Un-American Activities Comm.
AND
TO URGE CHRISTMAS CLEMENCY FOR
Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson
TO PAY TRIBUTE to 1st Amendment Defendants who have for years fought in the courts against HUAC and similar committees.
Hear:
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PETE SEEGER
Folk singer, 1st Amendment defendant
REV. FRED SHUTTLESWORTH
Birmingham, Ala., integration leader
GORE VIDAL
Playwright, author "The Best Man"
MRS. JEAN WILKINSON
Wife of HUAC abolition leadner now in jail
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PUBLICATIONS

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Jewish Currents, December issue just out. Highlights: Babi Yar, a Poem by Yevgeny Yevtushenko; Editorials by Morris U. Schappes on Disarmament, New Israeli Cabinet and N.Y. Elections; A British Jew Looks at Cuba by H. Newman; Credo—A Statement on Art by the late Max Weber. Subscriptions $4 yearly ($4.50 outside U.S.). Single copies 40c. Jewish Currents, Dept. G, 22 E. 17 St., New York City 3.

LOS ANGELES

JACK FOX, L.A. Guardian representative, will give free one copy of "Clash of Cultures" by the Hallinans, to anyone subscribing or renewing sub to National Guardian. Call WE 3-0114.

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THE GALLERY

WHEN PRESIDENT KENNEDY visited Los Angeles Nov. 13, he was met by a peace demonstration of about 2,000 persons, organized by Hollywood celebrities. After a series of short speeches, the demonstrators marched along Sunset Blvd. to Vine St. They carried signs reading: "The Only Defense Is Peace," "Ban All Atomic Weapons," "Disarm World-Wide," and "No Tests—East or West."

The organizing group is called HELP—Help Establish Lasting Peace. It was organized by writers Jack Sher and Nate Monaster with a first aim to support the President's disarmament proposals. Its supporters include actors Marlon Brando, Gary Merrill, Sammy Davis Jr., John Kerr, John Cassavetes, Theodore Bikel, Don Murray, Kim Novak, Rita Moreno, Polly Bergen, Jean Simmons, Rita Hayworth and Shelley Winters. There are also dozens of writers, producers and directors.

At the demonstration, Rita Moreno said: "We are not political. We have one objective: total world cessation of nuclear bomb tests." She said the demonstration's purpose was to remind President Kennedy of "his obligations to our country and to mankind."

"PLEASE LET ME GROW UP!"

At the UN on Nov. 25, 15 high school students from Baldwin, L.I., who walked to Manhattan presented a petition to Dr. Ralph Bunche, calling on world leaders to negotiate. Another group from Hyde Park, depicted here, presented another petition to Bunche with 8,500 signatures.. Also, about 75 members of Student SANE picketed Civil Defense headquarters, Gov. Rockefeller's office and Rockefeller Center, where fallout shelters are planned.

IN NEW YORK ON DEC. 7, recently designated as national Civil Defense Day, women and children are to demonstrate before Gov. Rockefeller's office at 22 W. 55 St., from 12 to 2 p.m. They will protest the construction of fallout shelters in schools; CD drills for children; and nuclear weapons tests. Parents are urged to keep their children out of school on this day and to notify school authorities of their reasons. Men are expected to form a separate picket line across the street in support of the women. The demonstration is called by the Women's Direct Action Committee, which also called the Nov. 1 Women's Strike for Peace. The Civil Defense Protest Committee is a co-sponsor. Further information is available from Ruth Scheidt, AL 4-5992, and Carol Korty, MA 5-3320 . . . . On the same day in Hartford, Conn., the New England Committee for Nonviolent Action will picket the state's CD headquarters at the Armory, Broad St. and Capitol Ave., from 12 to 2 p.m. In the evening the group plans a Pearl Harbor memorial service at the monument in downtown New London . . . . Students from more than seven Eastern colleges paraded in front of the White House on Thanksgiving in a silent fast and vigil to protest the resumption of nuclear tests. The vigil was initiated ten days earlier by members of the Student Peace Union at Grinnell (Iowa) College. It was carried on by groups from Bluffton College of Ohio, Carleton College of Minnesota and Syracuse and Cornell universities of New York. Most of the Thanksgiving demonstrators were not from the SPU; some were members of Student SANE and others were unaffiliated.

—Robert E. Light

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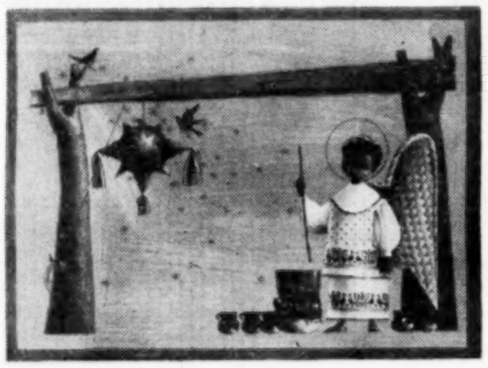

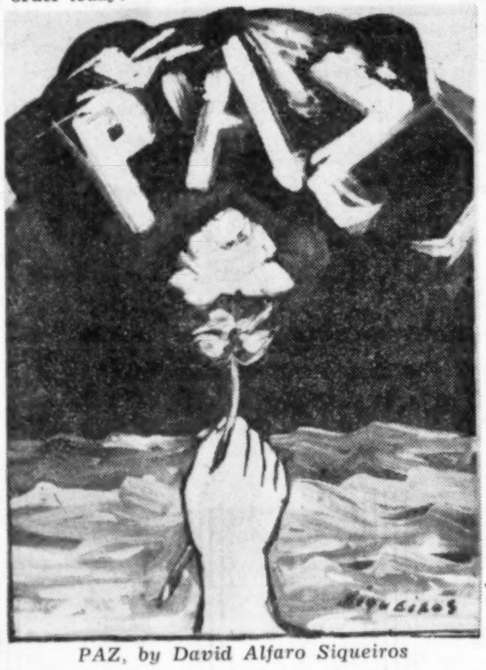

PAZ, by David Alfaro Siqueiros

SENSATIONAL!

THE first batch of Siqueiros holiday greeting cards arrived from the printer last week and we can describe them only as sensational! The colors are rich and vibrant, the register perfect; the powerful symbolism of the imprisoned artist's message to Americans could not be more perfectly reproduced. They are big (5½"x7¼") single-fold cards, packed eight cards to a box, with envelopes, and you can order your entire holiday supply now in complete confidence that every recipient will welcome the card's message.

Box of eight—$2

BULK PRICES: 100 cards and envelopes—$15
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(ABOVE LEFT) — Our exclusive Hidalgo cards also arrived from Mexico this week, and we can't praise them highly enough. They're beautiful! They're printed in full color with gold borders and starbursts, charming as they can be. You can order mixed sets or separate sets (top to bottom, above, #508, 507 and 509), ten cards and envelopes to a set $2

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NEWSPAPER

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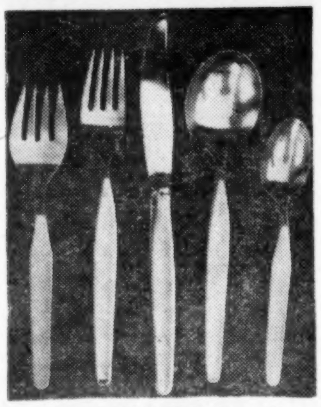
ALL SOLD OUT! GBS is out of the $10.50 opera glasses, Soviet women's watches, Picasso cards, and B-123 wide angle binoculars.



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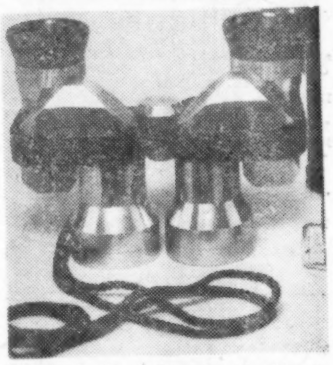

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